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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 62 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 62 613 618 [591]

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concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

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males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees.

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage.

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de*

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merced for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[8] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

[8] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. This has come about because women as well as men were registered during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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562 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships be-
613 tween their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does
621 not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of
618 strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 An important consideration which might be made here, however,
562 is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery
754 is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds
562 of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[571] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

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594 178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This re- [596] lationship overrides the purely economic interests between family members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] [465] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

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595 589 968 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the [554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [83] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as [837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] [594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 418 [613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] [618] [587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 848

[1] [i.e. – children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather – Analyst]

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ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land.

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to become career soldiers or policemen.

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to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure.

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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613 minced by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The •[618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 177 621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, women standing in such relationship are generally married to members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroilments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapucheland, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.